UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

The New Deal

By John A. Lapp

How Ministers Are Educated - *Jerome Davis*

The Destruction of Untouchability in India - - - - - - - - - - - *S. L. Saxena*

The Greatest Single Deed of Heroism in Our Time - - *John Haynes Holmes*

Book Reviews - - - - *Robert C. Schiller*
Lyle H. Cors

VOLUME CXIII NUMBER 4

Chicago, April 16, 1934

PRICE TEN CENTS

UNITY

Established 1878

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

Published Bi-Weekly *Subscription $3.00*
Until Further Notice *Single Copies 10 cents*

UNITY PUBLISHING CO., Abraham Lincoln Centre, 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
"Entered as Second-Class Matter November 15, 1933, at the Post Office at Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, *Editor* CURTIS W. REESE, *Managing Editor*

Board of Directors

MRS. S. O. LEVINSON, President
MRS. E. L. LOBDELL, Vice-President
MRS. IRWIN S. ROSENFELS, Treasurer
MRS. FRANCIS NEILSON
MRS. ELLA R. NAGELY
MRS. O. T. KNIGHT
MR. IRWIN S. ROSENFELS
MR. C. W. REESE
MISS MATILDA C. SCHAFF
MRS. E. E. SMITH
MR. FRANCIS NEILSON
Secretary: MAY JOHNSON

Editorial Contributors

W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW
DOROTHY WALTON BINDER
RAYMOND B. BRAGG
EDMUND B. CHAFFEE
PERCY M. DAWSON
ALBERT C. DIEFFENBACH
JAMES A. FAIRLEY
ZONA GALE
A. EUSTACE HAYDON
JESSE H. HOLMES
LOUIS L. MANN
JOSEPH ERNEST MCAFEE
H. R. MUSSEY
M. C. OTTO
ALSON H. ROBINSON
ROBERT C. SCHALLER
CLARENCE R. SKINNER
SYDNEY STRONG
JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND
ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY
JAMES H. WEST

Poetry Editors

LUCIA TRENT
RALPH CHEYNEY

Foreign Representatives

AUSTRALIA—CHARLES STRONG
AUSTRIA—STEFAN ZWEIG
BULGARIA—P. M. MATTHÉEFF
ENGLAND—HARRISON BROWN
FRED HANKINSON
REGINALD REYNOLDS
FRANCE—G. DEMARTIAL
ROMAIN ROLLAND
GERMANY—THEODOR HAHN
INDIA—RABINDRANATH TAGORE
JAPAN—NOBUICHIRO IMAOKA
PALESTINE—HANS KOHN
RUSSIA—ALINA HUEBSCH

Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 63
Jottings—J. H. H. 65
ARTICLES—
The New Deal—JOHN A. LAPP 66
The Greatest Single Deed of Heroism in Our Time—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 67
Soviet Far Eastern General Describes War Situation in East—GEN. BLUCHER 72
A Business Crisis of the Past—ELIOT WHITE 73
The Destruction of Untouchability in India—S. L. SAXENA 74
POETRY—
A Prayer—CLARENCE JOHNSON 63
Child Labor—MYRTLE G. BURGER 71
Deacon Small—I. N. RIFFLE 71
The Deed—JOHN GALSWORTHY 73
Children of the Slums—CHARLES G. GIRELIUS 80
THE STUDY TABLE—
How Ministers Are Educated—JEROME DAVIS 76
America at War—ROBERT C. SCHILLER 78
Old Fashioned Tales—LYLE H. CORS 78
CORRESPONDENCE—
Science and Immortality—JOHN ROWLAND 78
Toward Economic Security—F. S. KINDER 79
THE FIELD—
The "Verdict" Found Against Hitlerism 62

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

The "Verdict" Found Against Hitlerism

The following resolution was adopted at the anti-Hitler meeting at Madison Square Garden, New York, March 7, 1934.

Because the leaders of the National Socialist party of Germany, in violation of their oaths of office, have seized power and by a coup d'état destroyed the German Republic and abolished its Constitution, and because they have set up in its place the arbitrary and brutal rule of minority;

Because Hitler and his followers turned their backs on the civilized tradition of government and law and order in Germany;

Because they set up the arbitrary will of the "leader" in the place of the administration of justice and above the rule of law;

Because they exterminated every vestige of the hard-won liberties of the forgotten men and women whose defense and protection has made up the progress of civilization;

Because they have destroyed security of person and of property;

Because they have abolished freedom of association;

Because they have destroyed freedom of speech and of the press;

Because they have rendered impossible freedom of teaching and research and because they seek to enslave instruction in the arts and the sciences to the purposes of the ruling party, regardless of scientific truth and artistic honesty;

Because they war against and seek to destroy freedom of conscience;

Because they have deprived citizens of the right to petition the government for the redress of wrongs and have destroyed every possibility of lawful appeal from the injustice of the persons in power, whom they call the State;

Because the scientifically false and mythical differences of race have been invoked to deprive the 100,000 Jews of Germany of their civil and human rights, and to make them the victims of a policy

(*Continued on page 79*)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXIII MONDAY, APRIL 16, 1934 Number 4

A PRAYER

Oh, Thou that, knowing not, we call
Creator, Ruler, All in All,
To Whom vast choirs their hymns intone
And self scarred fakirs make their moan:
Or be'st Thou fact or fantaisie
I've that within that seeketh Thee.

The nun's deluded ecstacy,
The pandar's filth of blasphemy,
The grim crusader's truculence,
The Pope's be-robèd consequence:
All witness of some place outside
My knowing, where Thou may'st abide.

Perchance from where Thou art Thou seek'st
Identity with me; but lack'st,
Howe'er Thou triest, power to pass
The barrier of my littleness.
Still out of mine infirmity
I'll upward gaze and yearn for Thee.

Give me this day my daily bread
(But not until my neighbor's fed)
And let me love the one who hath
To Thee-ward sought a different path
And let my conduct be attuned
Unto the concord all around.

Amen.

CLARENCE JOHNSON.

It is evident that the turn has come in the President's unprecedented popularity. Never, we believe, has any chief executive in the country's history held the support of so large a body of people through so long a period of time. But now the end has come, and henceforth it must be expected that Mr. Roosevelt will meet determined, bitter, and increasing opposition. It may be of interest to inquire where and when the break came in the chords of harmony. In the newspaper world this is easily seen in the President's insistence upon an NRA code for the press as for other types of business. For long the newspapers did not dare to voice an hostility which was deep rooted from the time the owners and editors realized that the government was going to interfere with the fourth estate, just as with butchers and bakers and candlestick-makers. But the hatred was there from the beginning, and now it is bursting forth like the smouldering lava of a volcano. With the general public, the first upset came with the cancellation of the air-mail contracts, and the dreadful failure of the army flying-corps, utterly unprepared, apparently, for any real business in the air. At the heart of this fiasco stood Mr. Farley, the President's evil genius. Whatever the responsibility for what happened, the outcome was a dreadful shock to the administration, and the first real undermining of public confidence. But the real center of revolt, of course, is the CWA, and its disbandment. The spectacle of between four and five million workers being returned to unemployment is bad enough for the morale of the people. But worse is the inner realization, just dawning now upon the public mind, that this is the first complete failure in the administration's program for recovery. Why was the CWA started, if it was to be abandoned so soon? Because the President expected business to be so far recovered in the Spring that it could take over the CWA workers as fast as they were dropped. But business has *not* recovered! What does this portend? A break in the President's popular support—and as many other things as frightened imaginations may conceive.

We hope that the spirit of the late George Frisbie Hoar, Senator from Massachusetts in the great tradition of Charles Sumner, is alive today that it may gloat —if immortals *gloat!*—over the victory of Philippine independence. We can still thrill to the memory of Senator Hoar's battle against the appropriation of these Islands in the loot of the Spanish War, and his endeavor to save America from the shame of re-enslaving the people after their rescue from the rule of Spain. Only the pledge of the nation to grant independence gave comfort in the defeat of Hoar's endeavor. And now, thanks to President Roosevelt, the pledge is redeemed! After sickening delay through more than a generation, and for reasons which it must be confessed are not any too altruistic, the Filipinos are at last to be delivered and their long patience thus rewarded. Let America, whatever her motives, be acclaimed for this deed! Is it conceivable that Britain, or France, or Italy would voluntarily relax their hold upon any territory or people which they had once seized? Are not all of these imperialistic powers still engaged in the business of extending their real estate holdings, as

witness the spoils of the Great War? Only Soviet Russia can match this American deed of willingly surrendering territorial possessions in answer to the demand of the people to be free. All honor to the nation —and to the President who achieved this memorable feat of statesmanship! And honor also to UNITY which espoused the fight for the independence of the Philippines a full generation ago in the inspired editorial consulship of Jenkin Lloyd Jones! So long as Dr. Jones lived, he remained steadfast in this cause, and at his death left behind him a charge on its behalf which the present Editorial Board has done its best to maintain. Now at last the right has won—as we believe it always wins when time is matched by patience and increasing vigilance.

The report of Van Gheel Gildermeister, that there are 3,500,000 political prisoners in central and southeastern Europe, is a truly dreadful disclosure of present-day social conditions in this western world. Gildermeister is a Dutch Quaker who has been devoting the last twelve years of his life to working for the release of the victims of governmental strife. That he is not wholly unsuccessful is shown by the fact that, during these dozen years, he has obtained the deliverance of 11,000 prisoners, not including 6,000 released in Russia. But, alas, new offenders have been incarcerated far faster than older ones could be restored to liberty, and thus conditions have steadily grown worse. We do not wonder that Gildermeister asks if "the people in America realize" the horrors of this captivity in many countries. "In Europe no one does," he says, nor do we here! Perhaps this is not wholly to our discredit, for whatever our faults and failings, which are great, we have few political prisoners to shame the honor of our land. All the more should we be quick to see the meaning of any loss of that democracy which is at once our proudest heritage and our most precious possession. We had enough of this sort of thing during the War, and after. May it never recur! Meanwhile, in Europe, where millions of armed men fought and died "to make the world safe for democracy," bulwark after bulwark of liberty has cracked, caved in, and at last been swept away by the fierce flood of dictatorial oppression. Poor little Austria is only the latest of the countries to be engulfed and devoured. And these millions of political prisoners in all lands are the unhappy debris, so to speak, which measures the range and power of the flood. The mass of misery is almost unimaginable. German Communists, Socialists and pacifists in Germany, Austrian Communists and Socialists in Austria, Germans and Ukrainians in Poland, Tyrolese in Italy, Croats and Macedonians in Jugoslavia, Jugoslavians in Bulgaria—these are only a few of the national minorities which suffer at the hands of tyranny. These millions thus held captive are a measure of the confusion and terror which now is Europe.

The boycott against Germany is working. No doubt about it! Evidences? The action of Macy's, Gimbel's, Bloomingdale's, and Woolworth's in New York in closing out their German agencies and ending their handling of German goods! The closing of innumerable little shops, all over the country, which specialized in German imports! The official report that German trade is "in the red," with exports steadily falling! Above all, the hurried trip to Washington of Ambassador Dodd, to discuss with the President a situation of momentous importance! It is to be remembered, if we are to understand the situation, that the boycott is not confined to America. Spontaneously, in every civilized country, outraged and frightened by an eruption of barbarism, this movement of outlawry against Nazi Germany has sprung up. Also, let it be noted that the boycott is not confined to Jewry. On the contrary, labor everywhere is in rebellion, and liberals of all classes, who understand the menace of a Hitlerism allowed to flourish without interference and opposition have joined the ranks. For the first time, as we contemplate the unexpected sweep of this boycott, we recognize the possibility that the Nazi regime may not continue indefinitely in power. We still feel that the chances are that Hitler will find the way to "carry on." The new vitality of Germany is a fair counterweight to the drain of the boycott. But none the less the boycott is a terrible weapon, and may yet prove too much for the Brown Shirts. In any case, it is the one effective substitute for war. That's why, as a pacifist, we are in favor of this policy. Hitler must be fought; and if not by arms, which would only anticipate his own dread plans of attack and conquest, then it must be by just such a method as the boycott itself. Alas for Germany, that once again, and this time not without reason, the hands of all mankind should be raised against her!

MR. S. O. LEVINSON, in recognition of his valiant services on behalf of peace, has been granted the medal of the Legion of Honor by the Government of France. Not always has this distinction been so worthily bestowed. For years Mr. Levinson labored to outlaw war, and saw his efforts at last crowned by the Briand-Kellogg Treaty. For years as well he gave his great talents and abounding energy to plans for the settlement of reparations and other disputes between Germany and the Allies. The present plight of the world is an exact measure of its failure to follow the paths of safety marked out by this consummate statesman. We rank Mr. Levinson with Hugo Grotius as the greatest peacemaker of modern times. In conferring the Legion of Honor upon this noted American, France has but anticipated the judgment and remembrance of posterity.

There seems to be increasing evidence that the revolt of the Protestant pastors in Germany against Hitler's "national church" has been beaten down and thus defeated. The situation, hidden by the censorship, is not at all clear, but scattered reports all point to the conclusion, foreseen from the beginning, that these heroic clergymen must in the end be overcome. It was just this certainty of their fate which made so sublime their stand against the Nazi rule. Most significant of all signs is the news that Pastor Martin Niemoeller has been dismissed from his church in Dahlem. This man is famous as a former submarine commander who entered upon the Christian ministry after valiant service in the War. With the outbreak of the fight against Bishop Mueller and the Nazi Christians, Pastor Niemoller sprang to the forefront of the fray, and became the spear-head, so to speak, of the attack upon those who would seize and use the churches in the interest of the Reich. A dauntless preacher and gallant leader, he was the very soul of the Emergency League which organized some six or seven thousand pastors into a phalanx of opposition to the despotic state. Now that Niemoeller has been dismissed and thus silenced, it is to be presumed that others have been similarly suppressed. But the League is carrying on. "We can still pray," cries one of the recalcitrant clergy, refusing to be defeated by the disabilities laid upon him and his colleagues by the Nazi bishop. But even the right to pray, except to Thor and Wodin, may in due course be denied. One might anticipate in the end a complete subjection of Christianity and its swift transformation into a pagan cult, as rapturously proclaimed by Dr. Alfred Rosenberg, Count Reventlow, and Baldur von Shirach, were it not for Roman Catholicism. Just what the Catholics of Germany propose to do is not yet clear. But it is significant that the *Commonweal,* important Catholic weekly of New York, suggests that "we are on the verge of a new *Kulturkampf* the outcome of which will probably not be an immediate outward triumph of the Church."

The menace of armaments was impressively brought to our attention the other day when we received a copy of a letter from a stock broker advertising stock of E. W. Bliss & Co.

> This company, reads the letter, manufactures dies, presses, special goods . . . and armor-piercing and semi-armor-piercing projectiles, common shell and shrapnel for the army and navy. The company has *a large export trade, with agencies in many foreign cities.* Besides extensive works in this country, . . . the company has plants in Paris, France, and London, England.

The letter then goes on to announce that the stock on the New York Curb "has quietly advanced during the calendar year from a low of 2½ per share to $10.50 per share on March 7th, 1934." Here is a whole primer on the armament and ammunition business. Conspicuous is the fact that a private manufactury of trade goods is dealing extensively in goods "for the army and navy." Equally conspicuous is the fact that this business is international. Bliss & Co. are selling "armor-piercing projectiles, common shell and shrapnel" not only to our army and navy but to other armies and navies with which we may some day be fighting. Bliss & Co., in other words, at their main plant in Brooklyn, N. Y., are making shot and shell with which boys in this same Brooklyn may in due course be killed. And this business is profitable. Indeed, it is booming just now, with an advance in stock value of over 400 per cent in two months. The prospects of war are plainly good! The final touch in this stock-selling letter would seem to be that name, *Bliss.* Bliss indeed for the millions of helpless men and women in all nations out of whose blood and tears, disaster and death, this company coins its money!

Jottings

Massachusetts reported officially on March 19th last that, so far this year (1934), automobile fatalities in that state were 19 more than in the same period last year (1933), an increase of nine per cent. The official report goes on to say that "this nine per cent increase in fatalities *is unquestionably due* in part to a *four per cent rise in convictions for drunken driving.*" How long will it be before Prohibition comes back?

So Roosevelt is "the Kerensky of the American 'revolution'!" Did "Al" Smith resign from his editorship of the *New Outlook* to prepare himself to become the Lenin of this "revolution"? Watch these two men!

The world sure is improving. Insull evidently found that Turkish officials can no longer be bribed. When will Greek officials come up to this standard?

"Narcism" and "Nazism" are pronounced strangely alike. We wonder if they are the same. The dictionary defines "Narcism" as "gratification from admiring oneself."

It always riles us a bit to hear the old saying about "the more I see of men, the better I like dogs." For suppose we treated dogs the way we treat men! Would they then be any better than men?

> "The NRA is organized, to the infinite relief of the entire nation; then, when it is just working splendidly, its dissolution is peremptorily ordered."—UNITY, last issue, page 44.

This was obviously a misprint. For NRA, substitute CWA!

J. H. H.

Proposed Roads in a New Social Order

1. The New Deal

Probably no phrase has been spoken or written as many times during the last year as the phrase "The New Deal." Probably also no phrase has been used with less exact understanding of its significance. Every act of the President and of Congress is spoken of as a part of The New Deal. Every act of the agencies set up since March, 1933, is glibly put down as a part of the new order of things designated as The New Deal. That there is confusion in the public mind on the subject one has only to read the newspapers and listen to ordinary conversation to prove.

The confusion apparently comes from associating two very distinct elements of the program carried out by the President and Congress during the past year. The two elements that are confused are the program of recovery and reconstruction and the program of social reform. Most of the measures recently carried out have been recovery or reconstruction measures rather than measures for social reform. They have been the necessary result of the economic holocaust to which we have been subjected since 1929. The outlines of social reform, more properly thought of as The New Deal, have appeared principally in broad phrasings and are only now beginning to take shape in definite undertakings.

Sixteen major measures were passed by the Congress in the special session ending June 16th. Nearly all of these measures were measures of recovery and reconstruction. The spirit in them was the spirit of The New Deal, but the substance was the practical program of getting out of the morass into which we had been hurled.

We have only to review the conditions confronting the country in March, 1933, and the measures taken to meet them to conclude that we were meeting an emergency rather than setting up a new program. The situation was very grave. Practically all of the banks of the United States were closed by the action of state governors when President Roosevelt assumed office, followed by the nation-wide moratorium proclaimed by the President. Gold had been withdrawn from the Federal Reserve Banks to such an extent that the gold standard of our monetary system could no longer be maintained. Stock exchanges and grain and produce markets were closed. Farm prices had sunk to the lowest level in sixty years. Unemployment had reached the enormous total of thirteen million men and women besides millions more who were on part-time work. Four million families were on the relief rolls. The deficit of the Federal Government had reached five billion dollars over a period of three years. The finances of some of the states and many of the cities were chaotic. The railroads of the country were facing receiverships and the threat to the value of the bonds of railroads endangered the insurance companies, the savings banks, and the investments of educational and charitable institutions. Money for the renewal of mortgages on homes and farms was not available and hundreds of thousands of home owners faced foreclosure and eviction. Fear gripped the people as the very foundations of the economic structure seemed to be crumbling.

These conditions required emergency measures to hold back the flood-tide of economic disaster. The nation had to be saved first before it could go forward on any program of social reform. The acts of the special session, with two or three exceptions, were for the purpose of buttressing the foundations of the economic structure.

Obviously the banks had to be opened and put in a position of safety. This was done by the Emergency Banking Act of March 9th. There was no new deal about that action. The Government might have taken over the entire banking business of the country—that would have been a real new deal—but it chose to use its efforts to save the existing structure and build better foundations. The measures on banking that have been taken since, which seems to have been plunging the Government into the banking business, have been in fact principally to make the banking system more secure. The relief measures, including the civilian conservation camps, and the direct unemployment relief act were emergency measures to meet a desperate need. People had to be fed and housed and the resources of private charities, local governments and even of state governments were insufficient. The Federal Government merely stepped in to prevent starvation. The measures for the relief of home owners from foreclosures were also programs to meet a great emergency. Home and farm ownership for hundreds of thousands was threatened because mortgages came due when there were no facilities for renewing them. It is hard to visualize the seriousness of the calamity to the social order had there been no action taken to provide for saving the homes of the people from foreclosure. The Supreme Court of the United States recognized this necessity in upholding the Minnesota Mortgage Moratorium Act, pointing out that an economic calamity is the occasion for emergency action, no less than a natural calamity caused by floods or hurricanes.

The New Deal laws affecting the currency are, likewise, measures which faced the economic facts. The gold standard could not be maintained, the gold clause in contracts could not be fulfilled, the value of the gold dollar was too high and measures were taken boldly to protect the people from the effects of dollars which had become too dear.

The Agricultural Relief Act likewise faced the realities of the farm situation and while new and untried measures were put into effect, they were practical measures to meet a practical situation. The farmers of the country were in dire need. Prices had sunk so low that the cost of production could not be obtained. The countryside everywhere disclosed the economic plight of the farmers. The Agricultural Relief Act was a reconstruction measure to enable agriculture to rise again to a fair economic level.

The reorganization of the Federal Government and the program of economy in public expenditures

were, by no means, revolutionary nor did they constitute a New Deal Program. They were simply recognitions of obvious facts. The Act to stabilize the railroads was a temporary measure to stem the tide of economic disaster and to experiment toward a more secure plan for a railroad system. Banking reform and the control of the sale of securities, while far reaching, were but the outcome of the disasters caused by the speculative era of 1922 to 1929. They were designed to meet the evils disclosed in all their nakedness after the breakdown in 1929. A large part of the National Industrial Recovery Act consisted of the practical program by which industry could get on its feet and free itself from destructive competition.

What then does The New Deal consist of as distinguished from the emergency measures required to prevent widespread disasters? First of all, The New Deal consists of the point of view that governmental powers should be used for social welfare and human progress, that the old order of laissez-faire has no place in a complex society and that social action for social welfare must be widely extended if the people are to be protected from the savage law of the survival of the strong. Government exists for the welfare of people and its powers are to be used for the direct attainment of that object according to The New Deal. All public actions must be measured by the yardstick of human welfare. Human rights are placed above property rights when they come into conflict. Government is to be an active, not a passive instrument to these ends.

The measures enacted since March 4th, 1933, while designed for an emergency, have contained the elements set forth above. Similar measures would have been enacted by a conservative government had it been in power, but they would have been framed with a different end in view. They would have been props to business in the hope that business might be saved and scatter some blessings upon the people. Instead they were designed to promote the welfare of people with the expectation that business would prosper thereby. The people first and business afterwards rather than business first and the people afterwards may be said to have been the underlying principle involved in The New Deal measures.

Out of the emergency measures one discerns the outline of a new program, whereby Government is to be recognized as the instrument of human welfare and its powers are to be organized so as to bring about the greatest good to the greatest number. Security of the masses against the economic calamities that afflict them is the essence of the new plan. This involves the living wage, prevention of child labor, social insurance against unemployment, sickness, old age and other contingencies. This program involves the planning of an economic order which will have for its object the broadest possible security for human beings. It involves the controlling of economic laws by throwing a protective arm around the people through cooperative and governmental actions.

Perhaps The New Deal can be seen most clearly expressed in the Tennessee Valley Authority Act, whereby the Government has taken the leadership in the rebuilding of an economic and social order in a vast area of forty thousand square miles in the Tennessee Valley. Here we have the beginnings of a conscious social effort to plan a habitat for humanity with the factors of security and happiness of people foremost in mind. This act is, undoubtedly, the experimental laboratory for other acts applying to other parts of the country.

The whole program carried out since March 4th consists of a logical plan and not of mere haphazard schemes. Gradually, as the economic dangers have come under control the development of the permanent characteristics of The New Deal appears. The new program is, in no sense, revolutionary unless the avowed principle of using Government for human welfare is considered to be revolutionary. The program is Jeffersonian, applied in a complex economic order—an order which had been allowed to become individualized to such an extent that the social good was made subservient to the will of the economically strong. The program is not socialistic; it aims to preserve to the individual the fullest freedom and opportunity which can be assured in a complex world. The powers of Government are used to their limit to create the conditions under which true individualism may flourish. The new order recognizes that individualism can prosper only through social security and social welfare.

JOHN A. LAPP.*

*Author "The First Chapter of the New Deal."

The Greatest Single Deed of Heroism in Our Time

How do I know that any deed is the greatest deed of heroism in any time? I do not know! We have no knowledge of the deeds of heroism that are constantly being performed in all places of the earth. Most deeds are never reported. I sometimes think that the noblest heroism of which human life is capable is manifested in the slow grind of poverty, in the lingering anguishes of illness, of which no record is ever made, and for which no trumpets are ever blown. I can only say, therefore, that this deed of heroism is the greatest single deed among all those which have come to my attention. And this is saying a good deal, for heroic deeds have not been infrequent in our day.

I think of Lindbergh, for example, sailing in his "Spirit of St. Louis" across the far spaces of the air between New York and Paris, in the darkness of the night as well as in the bright hours of the day. The ecstatic acclaim with which this exploit was greeted took something away from the pure radiance of the achievement, for heroism, as a phase of virtue, should be "its own reward." Furthermore, the throng of imitators, who followed in the track of the "Lone Eagle," in a mad scramble for publicity, cheapened the deed by making flight across the Atlantic for a time ridiculous. But Lindbergh's glorious hour still remains in essence what it was in the beginning—one of the most gallant expressions of the heroic spirit that modern times have ever known.

Another deed of heroism is that of the two Englishmen, Irvine and Mallory, who perished amid the snows of the Himalayas in the final dash for the peak of Everest in 1924. You remember that story—how the mountain climbers had scaled the heights, with infinite pain and peril, until they stood within a few hundred yards of the loftiest summit in the world. But that final stretch was over slopes so rocky and so precipitous as to be well-nigh impassable. Furthermore, the air had now become so thin that the men

were gasping for breath like fish out of water, and were able to move, with the most laborious exertion, only a few inches at a time. The youngest and most vigorous of the party were chosen for the final dash—a few yards which it would take hours of exhausting struggle to accomplish. Who that has read it can ever forget the story of the men who remained behind, and watched the agonizing ascent of their comrades? At last they reached a turn in the shelf of rock, these two gallant and splendid Englishmen, and disappeared from sight. They were never seen again. Somewhere on these cruel slopes the frozen bodies of Irvine and Mallory are lying at this moment. What happened can only be surmised. They could not breathe; they had no longer strength to move one foot ahead of the other; they slipped and fell into some crevasse! Whatever the end, it was magnificent. This was a deed for the ages to recount in glory for mankind.

Noblest of all, and most familiar, is the epic of Captain Robert Scott and his four companions who in 1912 perished in a nine-days' blizzard on their return from the South Pole, foodless and fuelless, and only thirteen miles from a supply station. The story of that march from the Pole, and of those dreadful days of suffering at the end, has been immortalized by the diary and letters of Captain Scott which were found, months after his death, upon his frozen body in the snow. No braver words were ever written—no nobler spirit was ever seen. "Had we lived," runs the sacred text, "I should have had a tale to tell of the hardihood, endurance and courage of my companions which would have stirred the heart of every Englishman. These rough notes and our dead bodies must tell the tale. . . ." They will "tell the tale" to the end of time. Humanity does not forget such deeds of heroism as this.

I

But I know a greater deed! Its scene is Italy; its date, the 3rd of October, 1931; its hero, a young Italian, twenty-nine years, nine months, and twenty-four days old at the moment of his death.

He was born in Rome on the 9th day of December, 1901, the youngest son of Adolfo de Bosis, an Italian poet, distinguished as the translator of Shelley. His mother, an American of New England stock, was a daughter of a Methodist minister in Rome, and had lived in Italy since childhood. She named her son, Lauro. He was brought up in an atmosphere of culture, and although he took his degree in 1922 at the University of Rome in chemistry, his chief intellectual interests were philosophy and literature. He translated into Italian the "Oedipus Rex" and the "Antigone" of Sophocles, the "Prometheus Bound" of Aeschylus, and the shorter edition of the "Golden Bough" of Sir James Frazer. He wrote a lyrical drama, "Icaro," which won the Olympic Prize for Poetry at Amsterdam in 1928. In the following year he compiled "The Golden Book of Italian Poetry" for the Oxford University Press in England. Between 1924 and 1929 he made several visits to the United States, and on one of these visits gave a summer course in literature and philosophy at Harvard University.

When Mussolini marched on Rome and captured the government for Fascism, Lauro de Bosis was at first enthusiastic over the reforms which were promised by the Dictator. He was only one of millions of young men who hailed the advent of a new era in their country's history. But it was not long before his sensitive mind began to discover that Fascism was tyranny, and its rule the death of liberty. Steeped in the free traditions of his beloved Italy, he was shocked by Mussolini's boast that "Liberty is a rotten carcass." He was disturbed and then outraged by the horrors perpetrated by the Black Shirts. Italy had never known anything like this, not even in the days of the Bourbons and other foreign despots. Terror was everywhere—"the sword of Damocles suspended over the head of every citizen." Worst of all was the betrayal of the children. "For several years," writes de Bosis, "Italy has been turned into a great prison where children are taught to adore their chains and to pity those who are free." How could the country ever be liberated if this went on? The hour had struck for new champions of freedom. The days of Mazzini and Garibaldi were back again. For nine years the Fascists, "like a foreign garrison," had occupied Italy, robbing her citizens, corrupting their souls, denying their liberties. The time had come, now, for resistance. So in June, 1930, Lauro de Bosis renounced Fascism, organized a secret society against it, the *"Alleanza Nazionale"* (National Alliance), and began single-handed a campaign of opposition to the ruthless terror of "Il Duce."

His plan was to put in circulation in his country a series of bi-monthly letters, "of a strictly constitutional character," calling upon Italians to prepare themselves "for the day when Fascism shall fall." For five months he despatched every fortnight no less than six hundred of such letters signed "National Alliance," each letter sounding the call of revolt and bearing the specific request that the recipient send out six copies to as many different persons. The letters, "according to the principle of the snow ball," began to circulate by the thousands. A real agitation was soon under way. But there came an abrupt end to the campaign. In December (1930) when de Bosis was abroad on business, the police arrested two friends who had agreed to post his letters during his absence. These men were subjected to torture, and then condemned to fifteen years' imprisonment. One of the two, one of the best-known literary and art critics of Italy, was left naked all night long (in December) on the roof of the police-headquarters. He was beaten repeatedly on the head, till he lost the hearing in one ear. He was thrown into a cell six feet square, where there was not even a chair to sit on, and from which his bed was carefully removed every morning. After their conviction the two men were offered their liberty if they would write a letter of submission, but they refused.

Lauro de Bosis heard of the arrest of his friends, just as he was on the point of crossing the frontier to return to his home. What should he do? Of course he could not run away. He most go to Rome, to meet the danger and if necessary to share the fate of his two associates. But should he go "to surrender, or to fight to the end?" "I decided immediately," he writes, "to go to Rome, not in order to surrender, but to carry on the work of the National Alliance by throwing four hundred thousand letters from the air, and then, either to fall in fighting, or return to my base to make other plans." He decided, in other words, to return to Italy in an aeroplane, as an open enemy of its government. He would attack it from the air, as a squadron of flying-machines might attack it in the next war. Only his ammunition would be not bullets, but leaflets attacking Mussolini and calling for the overthrow of his tyrannical rule. In this way he would distribute more literature in an hour than he

could distribute secretly through the mails in a year. And by this daring attack he might kindle a spark which would start a conflagration which would deliver Italy.

It was an heroic idea, and it required careful preparation. If he was to fly an aeroplane on so dangerous a mission, he must learn to fly, for he "did not even know how to drive a motorcycle." He began by finding employment as a *concierge* in a Paris hotel, and thus concealing himself from all observation. The emissaries of the Fascists could not find him in such a guise! How he learned to fly has never been told, and therefore is not known. But in May, 1931, he made his first solo flight near Versailles. He was no sooner in the air than he was discovered by the Fascists, and was obliged to disappear. In due course he reappeared in England, under an assumed name. In July he was in Cannes, on the Riviera; and on the 13th day of that month he soared into the air in an English biplane, with an enormous load of leaflets addressed to the Italian public, denouncing the Fascist rule and calling for revolt. "I went alone," he says, "so as not to risk the life of a friend." An unfortunate accident brought down his plane on the coast of Corsica, where it had to be abandoned with its cargo. This meant that de Bosis's secret was now revealed. All Italy was promptly on its guard. English and French police began a search for the vanished Italian aviator. It was one man against the world.

But de Bosis had set his hand to the plow, and he was not a man to look back. The adventure was now, of course, a much more desperate one. The element of surprise was altogether gone. Balbo, the air-minister, famous in this country as the officer who led the Italian squadron which flew across the seas last summer to Chicago, was under orders to keep every aeroplane in Rome prepared for instant flight, and to shoot down at any cost any machine flying over the city which looked suspicious. The aeroplanes of Mussolini could do three hundred kilometers an hour, whereas the best that de Bosis's machine could do was a hundred and fifty. The venture was certain to end in death. Yet the gallant Italian went right ahead with his plans; and on the 3rd day of October, 1931, like Icarus mounting to the sun, he started upon his quest.

All the night before he spent in writing a document entitled, "The Story of My Death," which he mailed to a journalist friend on his way to the aviation field the next afternoon, with the request that it be published if or when he failed to return. It is this document from which I have gathered the data for this article.* At 3 o'clock, he was in his machine at Marseilles. At 3:15 he was in the air. At 8 o'clock he was over Rome, in the cool twilight of the autumn evening. For half an hour he flew above the city, his engine signaling to all the countryside that he was there. His raid has been described as "a feat of great skill and daring." At times he flew high in the air, like a great bird soaring for its prey. At other times he swooped low over the streets and through the squares. Once, as though in sheer joy of spirit, he flew so close to the Spanish Steps, as they are called, that it seemed as though his machine were literally climbing the stairs. Always he kept dropping down his leaflets and circulars. They fell into the streets, into the laps of spectators at an open-air movie-show, among the tables of cafés in the open piazzas. So thick they fell that it seemed as though some strange snowstorm was visiting the city. But soon his precious moments were gone! Balbo and his nine hundred planes were on the wing! Quick, before it is too late, and he is surrounded! Up into the air he soars, and heads straight for the west. Excited householders on the housetops see him fly into the dying sun over the wine-dark waters of the Mediterranean, with all the great flock of his enemies in hot pursuit. He begins to fade, he has become a speck against the light, he is suddenly gone—and he is never heard of again! Whether he crashed into the sea, or was shot down by his foes, nobody knows. No trace of his plane was ever found, or at least reported. Icarus had mounted, and had fallen, in one brief moment of transcendent glory!

*Published by the Oxford University Press, New York.

II

I have called this exploit the greatest single deed of heroism in our time. I believe that this is a correct description for at least four reasons:

In the first place, Lauro de Bosis's attack on Rome was a voluntary action. He was not ordered, or conscripted, to make this flight. He had no need to do it, unless he wanted to. In this particular his deed was identical with the other deeds of heroism to which I have referred. Thus, Lindbergh chose to fly to Paris; the two mountain-climbers on Everest volunteered to undertake the last stage of the ascent; Captain Scott and his companions made the trip to the South Pole the glad offering of their splendid youth. But in this same particular Lauro de Bosis's deed, like these other deeds, is different from classic heroism. That of the soldier, for example! One reason why I rate military courage comparatively low in the scale of values is to be found in the fact that the soldier is forced to do the things he does. Even if he has volunteered for service, the moment he enters the ranks he becomes a man under command. Sometimes he offers to do some glorious deed, and thereupon moves high up on the roll of honor; but usually he does what he is told to do, and is punished, perhaps with death, if he refuses. I should as soon think of praising a slave for his endurance as a soldier for his courage. This Italian poet moves into the ranks of the supreme heroes because, among other things, he was absolutely a free agent in what he did.

In the second place, in his flight over Rome, de Bosis acted alone. He had no companion to divide his work and share his fate. In this is one of the supreme tests of heroism. The soldier's bravery is comparatively cheap, because he is always marching in the ranks, keeping step with the innumerable multitude of his comrades. On trench duty he sees his fellow-sentinels to the left and to the right, and is mindful of a whole company of men asleep in the dugouts. When he goes "over the top," his companions go with him, to sustain his nerve and lift his heart. Captain Scott and his little group, on their long and heartbreaking return from the Pole, were kept going for days after a single man would have perished in the snows by the mere fact that the five of them were together. When one died, the whole morale of the group was lowered just to the extent that they were four now instead of five. "It would do your heart good," wrote the Captain, in a famous letter to Sir James Barrie, inscribed a few hours before his death, "to be in our tent, to hear our songs and the cheery conversation." These gallant souls, knowing that they could not survive, were yet lifted up by the blessed fellowship, in death now as in life, which made them one. So, on the

Himalayan expedition, it was two men who undertook the last dash to the summit, each one making pace for the other. Lindbergh flew alone on that enormous hazard of the air and sea which made his name immortal, and nothing in all his great adventure so irresistibly appealed to the public imagination as the sober fact that he had no living soul to share with him the long watches of the day and night, to encourage him while he lived and to comfort him if he should die. And de Bosis went alone. Up through the long stretches of the air, to keep his "rendezvous with death" in distant Rome, with no word to cheer him on, no heart to lend him company! Those must have been dreadful hours between quarter-past three at Marseilles and eight o'clock in Rome. How many times was he tempted to turn back? How often did he listen in the silence for a voice? It would all have been so much easier to have had a comrade. But he would risk no one's life but his own. So he went alone—the perfect hero!

In the third place, Lauro de Bosis went to his death! On his first attempt, when he fell in Corsica, there was a chance to escape, as there was no warning, and therefore no preparation to receive or to resist him. But on his second trip, the end was certain. This was not the case, be it confessed, in these other instances of heroism which we have cited. Thus, Lindbergh knew that the chances were for him rather than against him, so superb was his skill, so masterful his preparation. Irvine and Mallory, the mountain-climbers, faced deadly risks, but none which they did not think they could overcome. Captain Scott's fate was decided by a series of accidents and tragedies which no man could have foreseen. When he departed, he of course expected to return. But with de Bosis it was no question of chance, or hazard, or good fortune. It was as near a certainty as anything can be in this world that he would never come back from his adventure. That's the reason why he spent the last night before his departure writing the story of his death. He confessed that death was "undesired by (him) personally," since he had so many things still to achieve. He took comfort in the thought that his "death could not but add to the success of (his) flight." But the point is that he faced death, without one chance in a million to escape, and was not afraid. I know of nothing more gallant than his parting salute to death—the last words he wrote in his document of farewell. Referring to the nine hundred aeroplanes mobilized in Rome to meet him, he said, "If my friend Balbo has done his duty, they are there waiting for me. So much the better; I shall be worth more dead than alive."

Lastly, as the final evidence of this transcendent deed of heroism, I refer to the fact that it was done for the sake of a great and noble cause. It was an act of dedication to humanity, and therefore utterly disinterested. The famous deeds which we have listed, in comparison with de Bosis's flight, share this same high quality. Lindbergh launched himself across the seas to blaze a trail which should some day be a highway of international commerce and fraternity. The English mountain-climbers undertook an achievement which should add lustre to the glory of man's conquest of the earth. Scott and his companions sought an undiscovered Pole, and all the knowledge as well as glory which accompanies such a quest. But Lauro de Bosis's was a nobler gesture and thus a braver act. He sought to liberate a nation from oppression—to do one deed which should arouse and at last emancipate all the millions of his countrymen. As Marcus Curtius leaped into the pit, so de Bosis mounted into the air, that he might save Rome. He was convinced that Fascism in Italy would not fall of itself. "That is a mistake," he wrote in his last testament. "It is necessary to die. Fascism will not end until some twenty young people sacrifice their lives in order to awaken the spirit of the Italians." He would be the first, that he might set "a small example," and thus lead the way. And so he died, as Christ died on Calvary, that humanity might live. For "the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

These are the qualities which make the deed of Lauro de Bosis the greatest single deed of heroism in our time. If it lapses below other such deeds in any regard, it may be in the absence of any endurance through a continuing period of time, which tests the qualities of patience and long-suffering. It is here that the death of Captain Scott reaches a pre-eminence that is matched by no other deed of which I know. The great English explorer and his companions started for the South Pole on November 1, 1911, and after a terrible journey reached their goal two months and a half later, on January 17, 1912. They started back on January 19, and perished a little over two months later, on March 24. The return was one of the most awful experiences in the history of polar exploration. Every step became an agony, every breath a horror. It was the steadfast endurance of those dreadful days, as well as the sublimity of the end, which makes this journey one of the supreme events in the annals of human heroism. There is nothing else quite like it. De Bosis's flight to Rome was just a moment in comparison—a flare-up of glory, and then quick darkness. Yet, from another point of view, he endured also. For his adventure really begins with the preparation for his flight, in December, 1930, and did not end until the following October. This was a period of ten months—a period marked by stern patience, strenuous discipline, and daily peril. It must have been an awful experience through which to live—more dreadful perhaps, than those last few hours of ecstatic sacrifice. Even in this regard, de Bosis ranks among the greatest of his kind.

III

What a man—and what a deed! Are there those who recognize the beauty of such an adventure as this, but question its practical value? They may be right. Emerson concedes this when he declares that "heroism works in contradiction to the voice of mankind . . . All prudent men see that the action is clean contrary to sensual prosperity, for every heroic act measures itself by its contempt of some external good." What good has come of de Bosis's act to balance its contempt of other good? Is Italy free? Has Mussolini's rule been shaken? Have Italian patriots been stirred to action? It is more than two years since de Bosis fell from the evening skies, and it would seem as though the waters of oblivion had poured over his deed as the waters of the Mediterranean poured over his body. Yet there are two things at least to be remembered:

First, de Bosis set an example which must live until at last it is followed by other men. Italy cannot always be enslaved. Some day the compatriots of Mazzini must shake off the fetters of the Austrians and the French. There will come an hour, in other words, when de Bosis's hope, that "many others will follow me and will at last succeed in rousing public opinion," will be fulfilled. At that glad hour, with men awake and battling for liberty, de Bosis's deed will shine like a star through the black shadows of the night.

His countrymen will remember him as our forefathers in the Revolution remembered Nathan Hale, as our fathers in the Civil War remembered John Brown. They will dare because he dared, and die because he died; and by their multitudinous sacrifice win at last what he, by his lonely death, could not achieve. When Italy is free again, her era of liberation will be dated from the day when Lauro de Bosis flew to Rome, to drop down his proclamations upon the people. So every heroic action, says Emerson, "finds its own success at last, and then the prudent also extol."

But de Bosis accomplished something else, not merely for tomorrow but also for today. The opening of that famous poem, "The Present Crisis," by James Russell Lowell, begins as follows:

"When a deed is done for Freedom, through the broad earth's aching breast
Runs a thrill of joy prophetic, trembling on from east to west,
And the slave, where'er he cowers, feels the soul within him climb
To the awful verge of manhood, as the energy sublime
Of a century bursts full-blossomed on the thorny stem of Time."

When Lauro de Bosis did his "deed for Freedom," this "thrill of joy," of which the poet speaks, ran "prophetic" through all men's hearts. Joy that manhood was not dead, that courage was still possible, that the soul could still rise triumphant over the lust of life and the fear of death! When this modern Icarus lifted himself into the sun, he made the earth a fairer place than it had been before. When he flew over Rome and dared the wings of his enemies, he raised mankind onto a higher plane of being than it had occupied in those sad and sodden days. When he disappeared into the twilight, and his story, like a breath of heaven, went drifting 'round the world, we seemed suddenly to breathe a clearer air and to discover a nobler vision. Things which had seemed impossible were now easy. Virtues which we had forgotten were again remembered. Fates which we had thought had entombed us, as in a prison, were now released, like the opening of great doors, and we were free. In the deed of this one man, all other men found the promise of triumph over defeat. In the death of this one martyr, all other souls saw assurance of life. "If I be lifted up from the earth," said Jesus, "I will draw all men unto myself." So de Bosis, lifted up from the earth by his divine decision and dedication, drew all men to the stature of his spirit, and made his "great and transcendent properties" their own. "O friend," cries Emerson, "never strike sail to a fear! Come into port greatly, or sail with God the seas. Not in vain you live, for every passing eye is cheered and refined by the vision."

IV

In his great essay on "Heroism," Emerson speaks of a certain man as one who "died when it (was) better not to live." Lauro de Bosis was such a man—one of the great heroes of all time, and the greatest of our day.

It would be interesting to know to what extent the old folk-tale of Icarus suggested to de Bosis's mind the nature of his exploit. The myth had early caught his imagination. He used the theme, as I have said, for a poetic tragedy, "Icaro." Was it the story of this daring youth, the son of Daedalus, who soared aloft to match the fire of the sun, and then fell

Headlong . . . through the affrighted air,
With limbs distorted and disheveled hair;
His scattered plumage danced upon the wave,
And sorrowing Nereids decked his watery grave,
O'er the pale corpse their pearly sea-flowers shed,
And strewed with crimson moss his marble bed—

Was it this, I say, which suggested to de Bosis what he might do, and how he might die? The parallel inevitably suggests itself, but it is not true. At any rate, it was another ancient myth which was in the hero's mind in the last hours—the myth of Pegasus, the flying horse, and of the Chimaera, the great monster which ravaged Lycia.

In the beautiful copy of the "Story of My Death," published by the Oxford University Press, I turn to the opening pages and read:

Tomorrow at three o'clock, in a meadow on the Côte d'Azur, I have a rendezvous with Pegasus.

Pegasus is the name of my aeroplane. It has a russet body and white wings, and though it is as strong as eighty horses, it is as slim as a swallow. Drunk with petrol, it leaps through the sky like its brother of old, but in the night it can glide at will through the air like a phantom . . . Yet we are not going in search of chimæras, but to bear a message of liberty across the sea to a people that is in chains.

And so he mounted—and rose

. . . from the ground like feathered Mercury . . .
As if an angel dropped down from the clouds,
To turn and wind a fiery Pegasus,
And witch the world with noble horsemanship.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Child Labor

As long as one of these shall greet
The morning light with dread;
And drag his little, weary feet,
Unwilling, forth from bed,

To slave at hard, unchildish tasks
That stunt and starve, for pay;
While none will heed him when he asks
His God-given right of play;

As long as human monsters fill
Their gaping sacks with coins,
And sacrifice, to heap their till,
The fruit of human loins;

Let flags not wave; nor speak the name
Of freedom, progress, pride;
But deep with crimson blush of shame
Let every cheek be dyed!

Until in every farthest place,
All people shall agree
To cleanse the earth of such disgrace,
And set our children free!

MYRTLE G. BURGER.

Deacon Small

Our deacon Small, a cornerstone
On which our church is resting
Deplores the reckless way we live,
And scorns our sinful jesting.

He longs for days when he was young
And godliness existed;
"Religion's dead," he sadly mourns,
"Theology is twisted."

"Restore our strength," the deacon prays,
"We humbly stand convicted"
And turned to face a widowed one
Whom he had just evicted.

"Be free to give," the deacon pleads,
"And swell the Lord's collection"
And thought of all the mortgages
Foreclosed at his direction.

"Give us this day," intones the man
Whose gain was blood of mine,
Yet he prepares the sacrament
And gives me bread and wine.

I. N. RIFFLE.

Soviet Far Eastern General Describes War Situation in East*

Under the conditions of the Far East, we who live there are especially conscious of the wise, cautious and yet firm policy, which our Central Committee of the Communist Party leads, directed towards the avoidance of war. We have seen how the Central Committee takes all measures to lessen the growing tension. But we regret to note, the policy of Japanese imperialists gives us no confidence that we shall be able, in spite of our strivings, to avoid being drawn in conflict.

I note only three facts, which witness how the preparation goes on against our Soviet Far East.

First and most decisive,—the tremendous construction of strategic railways, which Japan has feverishly carried on in the past two years. In that time she has built over 1,000 kilometers of railway in Manchuria leading towards our frontiers, of which only some 30-35 per cent can have an economic significance. This alone shows the direction in which are developing those military moves into which Japan is putting all her national substance.

A second indication is the construction by Japan of over 2,200 kilometers of highways during these two years. If we note their direction we see that they connect with the frontiers in the directions most useful for later strategic advance.

A third indication is the building of airdromes. Japan has built fifty airdromes and aviation bases, all of which, if you look at the map, are north of Mukden.

The Japanese Minister of War Hiyashi in an interview on February 3 modestly underemphasized his forces in north Manchuria and accused us of a tremendous concentration of forces on our frontier. He stated that Japan is defending in Manchuria a territory equal to Germany, France and Belgium and has only some 50,000 troops, which we are threatening with 100,000 troops and 300 airplanes. I must disperse this erroneous information. We have very accurate information that if the Japanese forces were only 10,000 before the occupation of Manchuria, they are now 130,000, more than a third of the entire Japanese army. To this one should add 110,000-115,000 of the Manchukuo army, and also 12,000 armed whiteguard Russians. One should also note that their naval flotilla on the Sungari river has been increased by 24 vessels.

Mr. Hiyashi claimed in the interview that the Soviet government has 300 airplanes in the Far East. We won't quarrel with him over figures; maybe there are more, maybe less. I can only say that if it will be necessary, our party and government are able to get together enough airplanes so that there will certainly be more than Japan has. But with all modesty I should inform Mr. Hiyashi that the Japanese have in Manchuria 500 airplanes.

This same Hiyashi seems to state that they do not intend to fight the Soviet Union unless the Soviet Union attacks them. I am stating the general views of the Party Congress when I state that we have no intention of attacking them. There is no point in our seeking any new territories. We have enough natural wealth to last us for hundreds of years even with increased consumption. We have before us the great tasks of the second Five Year Plan. War is not in our second Five Year Plan. I haven't seen a paragraph or line of it in our plan.

But it is quite understandable that, observing the war measures of Japanese imperialism we cannot remain indifferent. Therefore by decision of the party and the government measures were taken to insure the defense of the Far East.

What were these measures? First of all, the fortifying of our borders. As Comrade Voroshiloff has said, we have belted our borders with reinforced concrete sufficiently firm so that the strongest teeth will crack on it. Secondly we have taken measures to strengthen our army with the best forces. I need not give particulars of size or percentage of growth, but I will state that it has been carried to a size and quality which enables our Party Congress to continue its tasks quite securely. You know when Stalin starts anything, he carries it through to a finish. Thus we have carried through to a finish our defense in the Far East.

We are very strong in tanks and aviation. They are the children of the first Five Year Plan. I think these children are able to carry out their socialist debt towards the Soviet Union not only on the borders, not only at the front, but at places far in the rear of our imperialist adversary.

But war is not in our plans. We do not wish to fight. What is the difference at root between the measures taken by the Japanese commanding staff in Manchuria and ours in the Soviet Far East? It is this, that the measures we have taken can only serve the ends of defense of our borders, while the measures taken by the Japanese commanding staff follow the direction of attack.

When I say on behalf of our army that we will not surrender the Soviet Far East, my confidence is based not only on the might, devotion, and technical skill of our Red Army, but on the tremendous economic changes in the Far Eastern Region itself.

In the first Five Year Plan we have made in the Far Eastern Region more capital investments than the czarist government made during its whole existence. The second Five Year Plan contemplates a mighty program of socialist industrialization there.

The second Five Year Plan gives our region the task of developing a great iron and steel industry, a ship-building industry, and a great extension of transport, food industries and consuming industries generally. As Stalin has stated, one of the most important tasks there is the development of a coal base in the Burian district. When you consider that there are an estimated hundred billion tons of coal in this district and two billion tons of iron ore and some copper reserves, you will see what importance we give to the Burian development. When we add the development of transport from Lake Baikal eastward, we shall make of the Burian district a second Kuznetsk Basin.

The task of creating a great industrial center in the Far East depends also on wide development there of farming and livestock raising. It was an historical decision which our Party made about special exemptions to the Far East and assistance with tractors, seeds and capital investment so that during the second Five Year Plan these developments might be secured. We dwellers in the Far East must especially comment on this, since it will arouse all our collectivized peasants to a militant struggle to develop the region.

*(This article is a condensed speech delivered at All-Union Party Congress—translated by Anna Louise Strong.)

In conclusion, as commander of the army in the name of the Communists in the army, the soldiers, the staff, the political workers, I assure the Congress of our Party:

If war advances upon us in the Far East, the Special Far Eastern Army, from the soldiers to the commanding staff, devoted heart and soul to the Revolution, under the beloved leadership of our commanding Chief Voroshiloff, the Central Committee of the Party, and the great leader of our Party Stalin, will answer with a blow from which the foundations of capitalism will totter and in some places crash.

GENERAL BLUCHER, *Chief of the Soviet Army of the Far East.*

A Business Crisis of the Past

"The barrel of meal wasted not, neither did the cruse of oil fail."—The First Book of Kings, chapter 17, vs. 16.

Time, about 900 B. C. Scene, a meeting of the President and Board of Directors of the Standard Olive Oil Company of Zidon, familiarly known to the trade and consuming public of Phenicia as "Soocozi."

The President: I have called you gentlemen to an emergency session to deal with a menacing invasion of our commercial territory by a so-called prophet, Elijah the Tishbite, out of the neighboring country of Israel!

First Director: How is the stranger threatening us?

President: He crossed the border to Zarephath which belongs to Zidon, and persuaded a poor widow living in the town to make him a meal-cake, although she told him she had only a handful of meal in a barrel and a little olive oil left in a cruse, and was just going to use these last supplies to prepare a morsel for her son and herself, before they lay down to die of starvation.

Second Director: How did the prophet meet that argument?

President: Why, he promised her as reward for baking him a cake first, that the barrel of meal would not get empty at all, nor the vessel of oil fail, till the rain should end our present record-breaking drought!

Third Director: A wild and absurd pledge if ever there was one! Surely you don't mean to tell this Board that the widow was deceived by it.

President: Absurd or not, she believed the promise and gave the stranger the first meal-cake.

Fourth Director: And by this time of course she and the child are both dead. But why call us to an emergency meeting of Soocozi to hear how a foreigner took the bread out of the mouths of our own poor, and left them to starve? To call that "a menacing invasion of our commercial territory" is surely preposterous.

President: Wait a moment, if you please. The whole point is that the widow and child are *not* dead, but healthier and apparently happier than ever before in their lives! The prophet's pledge actually came true! With a meal-barrel and oil-cruse which cannot be emptied, the mother and son have no more fear of starvation; and what is more, the entire countryside is at a pitch of excitement about this alleged miracle.

So perhaps now you gentlemen who have spoken rather hastily realize that this *is* an emergency. The Seacoast Milling Company will have to look out for their own interests in connection with the inexhaustible barrel of meal; our concern is for this and all other cruses of olive oil in the land, as you must now clearly enough realize.

Fifth Director: We certaintly do, Mr. President, and commend your business acumen in calling us together at once.

President: Ah, you begin to grasp the situation. Naturally, the inhabitants not only of Zarephath but of all the rest of Zidon—for such news spreads like wildfire—will be trying to persuade this foreign prophet to render their own oil-vessels inexhaustible. And then!—ah, gentlemen I do not wonder you leap to your feet as one man, in alarm and indignation!—then, *What will happen to Soocozi?* Our bonds defaulting! Dividends on both preferred and common stocks suspended! Profits utterly wiped out by a mere demagogue! Shall we endure such humiliation? Never! —a thousand times never!

The entire situation is of course the more serious just at this time when we have signed the King of Zidon's new oil-code in the Recovery Drive, which involves raising the wages of all our olive workers and shortening their hours of labor. It makes the sales-resistance blow struck by the interloping prophet of Israel at this juncture practically outright confiscation of Soocozi's property and good-will!

Seventh Director: What plans have you formulated to meet the threatened disaster, Mr. President?

President: Briefly these, for which I ask the Board's immediate approval:—An intensive campaign from end to end of our country, with the slogan, "Buy Zidonian!" Billboards, posters and handbills everywhere, decrying the intrusion of foreigners into our domestic affairs, and proclaiming the matchless superiority of our product. Also a small army of four-minute speakers at theaters and on street corners to make our entire population Soocozi-conscious.

And for ourselves, gentlemen, as we adjourn to combat with utmost zeal this latest menace to our prosperity, and until we can make one of our friendly judges see the wisdom of issuing a warrant for the arrest of this foreign agitator, I propose as our own private watchword:

"Fewer prophets and more profits!"

ELIOT WHITE.

THE DEED

We know the paths wherein our feet should press,
Across our hearts are written thy decrees;
But now, O Lord, be merciful to bless
With more than these.

Give us the will to fashion as we feel;
Give us the strength to labor as we know;
Give us the purpose, ribbed and edged with steel,
To strike the blow.

Knowledge we ask not, knowledge thou hast lent.
But, Lord, the will—there lies our bitter need.
Give us to build above the deep intent
The deed, the deed!

—John Galsworthy.

The Destruction of Untouchability in India

Untouchability was no part of the Hindu religion in its original purity, just as color prejudice is no part of the Christian religion. But the Indian civilization is very old, and at some period of decline this caste separation crept in. Almost all the great religious teachers of India since the time of Buddha have waged a relentless warfare against this hydra-headed monster of Untouchability, with varying degrees of success. But in course of time, the practice became metamorphosed into rigid social customs, such as pollution by touch or even by approach within a certain distance, and exclusion from the study of the sacred scriptures, from worship in public temples, from the drawing of water from public wells, from studying in public schools, and in fact, from the joint use of all social amenities. These customs have come down to our own times and still prevail among the more orthodox sections of the population. The tremendous task before the reformers was pointed out by Mahatma Gandhi in the following passage which he wrote after recovery from the effects of his Epic Fast, which was intended to mark the religious initiation of his fresh crusade against the curse of Untouchability:

> The work of the removal of untouchability is not merely a social or economic reform whose extent can be measured by so much social amenities or economic relief provided in so much time. Its goal is to touch the hearts of the millions of Hindus who honestly believe in present-day Untouchability as a God-made institution, as old as the human race itself. This, it will be admitted, is a task infinitely higher than mere social or economic reform. Its accomplishment undoubtedly includes all these, and much more. For it means nothing short of a complete revolution in Hindu thought, and the disappearance of the horrible and terrible doctrine of inborn inequality and high-and-lowness, which has poisoned Hinduism, and is slowly undermining its very existence. Such a change can only be brought about by an appeal to the highest in man. And I am more than ever convinced that that appeal can be made effective only by self-purification, i. e., by fasting conceived as the deepest prayer coming from a lacerated heart.

It is evident that the problem in India has become harder to tackle on account of the religious sanction which it is supposed to have. The great religious teachers which India produced during the last century all threw their tremendous influence against Untouchability, and gave it powerful knocks. The most effective of the reformers was Swami Daya Nand Saraswati (1824-1883), who first stormed the citadels of orthodoxy by preaching that Untouchability was never sanctioned by the Vedic religion and that the texts advocating it were spurious. The Arya Samaj, which he founded in 1873, with the purpose of restoring Hinduism to its pristine glory, has been trying for the last sixty years to consolidate and extend the successes achieved by him.

Later, other religious giants like Swami Ram Krishna Paramhansa, Swami Vivekananda, and Swami Ram Tirtha waged unrelenting war against Untouchability. The societies founded by these great personalities have continued their Herculean efforts during all these years. The movement for national freedom, started by the Indian National Congress in 1885, did much to concentrate public attention on this sore in India's body politic. But the movement did not become a mass movement till 1920, when the Congress came under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and at his suggestion adopted the removal of Untouchability as one of the main items of its national reconstruction program. Gandhi's three All-India tours, in 1920-21 during the Non-Co-Operation movement, in 1925 as the Congress President, and in 1928-29, all emphasized removal of Untouchability as one of the chief items of national policy. His tours are always triumphant marches in which tens of thousands of India's teeming millions gather to hear their beloved leader, and his advocacy of the cause gave it the character of a mass movement. Three mass campaigns of civil disobedience, in 1920-22, 1930-31, and 1932-33, which the Mahatma led as part of the *Satyagraha* fight for India's freedom, took the message of the national reconstruction program, which includes the removal of Untouchability, to every nook and corner of India. Also, the very struggle itself, which has been responsible for sending some two hundred thousand of the flower of India's youth, including several thousand women and numerous Untouchables, to prison, has had the greatest leveling effect, and thus broken the prejudice against the Untouchables in a greater measure than all previous reforms.

The British Government, ever since its rise to paramount power, has realized that it can rule India only under two conditions. First, that India be disarmed; and, secondly, that the policy of "divide and rule" be adopted in every sphere. The first condition it gradually realized in the twenty years following 1857, and in 1879, a legislative decree required the last unlicensed weapon to be deposited with the Government by the end of that year. Disarmament of the Indian people being now complete, Britain undertook to create permanent divisions among the various communities of the land. The methods it adopted to achieve this end have been the creation of separate electorates for as many communities as possible, separate enumeration of the various communities in the census and other Government reports, and encouragement of communal spirit in various shapes and forms. The first great success it achieved for this policy was in 1909, when it established separate electorates for the Muslim and non-Muslim population. The tendency of these separate electorates has been to retard the growth of a united nation.

It should not be assumed that the Indian masses desire separate electorates. What the Government always does is to prop up its own men as leaders of the respective communities and then invite them to its conferences, such as the three Round Table Conferences in London, to the exclusion of those who really represent the people. These leaders repeat their masters' voice, and the world believes that the British Government is acting in response to the wishes of the respective communities. It was due to this that Gandhi failed to bring about a communal settlement in London in the Second Round Table Conference. The Mahatma knew what sort of people were packed into the Conference, but with his infinite faith in the inherent goodness of human nature, he agreed to attend, hoping that even these hirelings might shudder at the thought of selling their nation's freedom for a mess of pottage. But the forces of reaction proved too

strong even for him, and British diplomacy triumphed.

But Gandhi is invincible. He represents a nation's spirit, which cannot be subdued. He is too shrewd to be outwitted, and can foresee future results of a course of action as few men can. In London he immediately understood the Government's new move to create separate electorates for the Untouchables, and realized its disastrous consequences on the future of India. The Government had propped up Dr. Ambedkar as the leader of India's Untouchables, and had put its proposal in his mouth. But even the British Government did not understand fully how devilish this design was. The Mahatma warned them fully against any attempt to incorporate the proposal in the Communal Award, in the following memorable words, at the conclusion of his speech in the Second Round Table Conference on the 13th of November, 1931:

I can understand the claims advanced by other minorities, but the claims advanced on behalf of the Untouchables is to me the "unkindest cut of all." It means the perpetual bar-sinister. I would not sell the vital interests of the Untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India. I claim myself, in my own person, to represent the vast mass of the Untouchables. Here I speak not merely on behalf of the Congress, but I speak on my own behalf, and I claim that, if there was a referendum of the Untouchables, I would get their vote, and that I would top the poll. And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the Untouchables that separate electorates and separate reservations are not the way to remove this bar-sinister, which is the shame, not of them, but of orthodox Hinduism. Let this Committee, and let the whole world, know that today there is a body of Hindu reformers who are pledged to remove this blot of Untouchability. We do not want on our register and on our census Untouchables classified as a separate class. Sikhs may remain such in perpetuity, so may Muslims, so may Europeans. Will Untouchables remain Untouchables in perpetuity? I would far rather that Hinduism died than that Untouchability lived. Therefore, with all my regard for Dr. Ambedkar, and for his desire to see the Untouchables uplifted, with all my regard for his ability, I must say, in all humility, that here is a great wrong under which he has labored. . . It hurts me to have to say this, but I would be untrue to the cause of Untouchables, which is as dear to me as life itself, if I did not say it. I will not bargain away their rights for the kingdom of the whole world. If I were the only person to resist this thing, I would resist it with my life.

On his return from England, the Mahatma was arrested and kept as a state prisoner. On March 11, 1932, he wrote a long letter to Sir Samuel Hoare from behind the prison walls, from which we take the following few lines:

You will please recollect that at the end of my speech at the Round Table Conference, when the minorities' claim was presented, I said that I should resist with my life the grant of separate electorates to the depressed classes. This was not said in the heat of the moment, nor by way of rhetoric. It was meant to be a serious statement.

From the newspapers I am permitted to read I observe that any moment His Majesty's Government may declare their decision. At first I had thought that if the decision was found to create separate electorates for the depressed classes, I should take such steps as I might then consider necessary to give effect to my vow. But I feel that it would be unfair to the British Government for me to act without giving previous notice. Naturally, they would not attach the significance I attach to my statement. . . .

I, therefore, respectfully inform His Majesty's Government that in the event of their decision creating separate electorates for the depressed classes, I must fast unto death.

The British Government kept this letter a close secret for six months. All this time it was on the horns of a dilemma. It did not desire to miss this golden opportunity to disrupt the national forces in India, but it dared not take the risk of a fast unto death by India's foremost leader.

Ultimately the temptation proved too strong, and when the Communal Award was published, it was found to provide for part of the election of Untouchable candidates on the basis of separate electorates and part on the basis of joint electorates. It kept a safety valve in the provision that the whole or any part of the Communal Award would be modified, if the representatives of the communities affected by the change agreed. But the Mahatma would not tolerate the injection of the poison of separatism in the Hindu community to the slightest extent, and wrote a letter to the British Prime Minister on August 18, 1932, saying that, in pursuance of his letter to Sir Hoare and his declaration at the Round Table Conference, he would resist the decision with his life, and would commence his proposed "fast unto death" from the noon of the 20th of September. The Prime Minister cabled in reply, on September 8, a long letter requesting him to reconsider his decision, but said that only an agreement of the communities themselves could substitute other electoral arrangements for those that the Government had devised. In the final letter that the Mahatma sent in reply, he summed up his objection to the scheme in the following words:

In the establishment of separate electorates for the depressed classes I sense the injection of poison that is calculated to destroy Hinduism, and do no good whatever to the depressed classes. You will please permit me to say, no matter how sympathetic you may be, you cannot come to a correct decision on a matter of such vital and religious importance to the parties concerned. I should not be against even over-representation of the depressed classes. What I am against is their statutory separation, even in a limited form, from the Hindu fold so far as they choose to belong to it. Do you realize that if your decision stands, and the constitution comes into being, you arrest the marvelous growth of the work of Hindu reformers who have dedicated themselves to the uplift of their suppressed brethren in every walk of life? I have, therefore, been compelled reluctantly to adhere to the decision conveyed to you.

The whole correspondence on the subject was released on September 11, 1932, and India was stunned. The news of the fast literally set the whole country ablaze. The civil disobedience movement, which was then in full force, went into the background for the moment. Never before in all history had such a spectacle been witnessed in India. Thousands of temples, which were the citadels of orthodoxy, were thrown open for the Untouchables throughout the length and breadth of India in the course of that memorable fortnight. People began to vie with one another in embracing the Untouchables, whose touch had been a pollution to them. The pariahs were now allowed to draw water from thousands of public wells, hitherto closed to them. There were mass prayers, and meetings in every town and hamlet of India, demanding the change in the Communal Award desired by Mahatma Gandhi. Huge meetings of Untouchables condemned the Government's award, which proposed to segregate them from Hinduism, and passed resolutions declaring that Mahatma Gandhi and not Dr. Ambedkar was their leader. The work of ages was thus accomplished in a fortnight.

The Government had known the great influence of Mahatma Gandhi with the masses, but was not prepared for this unprecedented demonstration of the people's love for their leader. Little did it realize that the hydra-headed monster of ages, backed by a pseudo-religious sanction, would col-

lapse at the Mahatma's threat. It now grew anxious, and wanted the situation saved. Hindu and Untouchable leaders met together at Poona, and carried on negotiations with the Mahatma's help from inside the prison. An agreement was reached which was signed by all the leaders present, including Dr. Ambedkar. A representative public meeting of Hindu leaders from all parts of India met in Bombay on September 25, 1932, with Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya in the chair, supported the agreement arrived at between the leaders, and passed the following significant resolution:

This conference resolves that henceforth, amongst Hindus, no one shall be regarded as an Untouchable by reason of his birth, and that those who have been so regarded hitherto will have the same right as other Hindus in regard to the use of public wells, public schools, public roads and all other public institutions. This right shall have statutory recognition at the first opportunity and shall be one of the earliest acts of the Swarajya Parliament, if it shall not have received such recognition before that time.

It is further agreed that it shall be the duty of all Hindu leaders to secure, by every legitimate and peaceful means, an early removal of all social disabilities now imposed by custom upon the so-called Untouchable Classes, including the bar in respect of entering the temples.

It was the fifth day of the fast when the agreement was reached. The Mahatma himself was surprised at the revolution in Hindu thought that his fast had brought about in so short a space of time. Before blessing the agreement, he warned the Hindu leaders that if, after he had broken his fast, they went to sleep and did not endeavor to fulfil the resolution, he would be forced to take up the fast again, which he was then suspending, as the Prime Minister had agreed to amend the Communal Award according to this agreement.

September 25, 1932, can be said to be a red-letter day in the history of the world. The monster of Untouchability was killed on this day, thus relieving forty million people from moral slavery, although its corpse has still to be buried. The occasion can bear comparison with the day when slavery was abolished a hundred years ago in the year 1833.

It is now more than a year since the Bombay resolution was passed. None can doubt that Untouchability is fast vanishing. An idea of the success that the movement has achieved can be obtained from a perusal of the reports that are published in its weekly organ, *The Harijan*. The progress is marvelous, and shows that the enthusiasm preceding the fast was not merely temporary, but promises to have permanent results.

Nor has the Mahatma taken rest since he signed the Poona agreement, known as "The Yervada Pact." He stands for the utter fulfilment of the Bombay resolution, and is exhausting himself for it every minute of his life. He has undergone two more fasts to give the fillip to the movement. Of these, the fast in May last was of three weeks' duration, and may be said to have increased the pace of the movement tremendously. And now, owing to his release, after the fast in August last, under peculiar circumstances from gaol, he is devoting himself exclusively to the service of the Untouchables for a year, and is now engaged in a nine months' tour throughout the country in furtherance of the cause.

The tour began on November 7, 1933. The results during the last two months of touring have been astonishing. Everywhere he goes, people in tens of thousands flock to hear his message. In several places the number exceeded a hundred thousand; sometimes meetings could not be addressed owing to an unprecedented rush. In point of enthusiasm, none of his previous tours can compare with it. Everywhere he reminds the people of the Bombay resolution, passed by their representatives, and collects funds for the Servants of the Untouchables' Society. Already the collections exceed $50,000.00. This sum is composed of the coppers and shells of the poorest of the poor, and is a true measure of the people's determination to abolish Untouchability. When the poverty of India and the present depression is taken into account, the sum appears to be really astounding.

Cawnpore, India S. L. SAXENA.

The Study Table

How Ministers Are Educated

Here* is the most complete study of the education of Protestant ministers that has ever been made. In the United States and Canada there are well over 200,000 Protestant congregations served by 150,000 or more ministers. The first volume of the study is a summary and interpretation by William Adams Brown of Union Theological Seminary covering the status of the minister, the kind of education he receives, and the education needed for tomorrow. The conclusion which he reaches is that the training of the parish minister should be distinguished from the training required to meet the needs for particular groups. He urges increased cooperation between college and seminary and between church and seminary. It is apparent that this summary volume represents a selection of material from the second and third volumes, although of necessity it does not bring out a great deal of the important data included in the survey. In this volume it is not always easy to know which are the findings of the survey and which are the interpretations by Dr. Brown.

The second volume impressed the reviewer as of great importance. This book emphasizes again the small proportion of Protestant ministers who have had both a college and a seminary education. Probably only about one-fourth of the white Protestant ministers were in 1926 graduates of both a college and a theological seminary. Approximately one-half were graduates of neither a college nor a seminary. It is interesting to remember that the census reports 68 per cent of the Roman Catholic clergy as graduates of both a college and a theological school. It is also significant that the general educational level of the Protestant ministers has been declining during the past one hundred years. The majority of ministers are born and brought up in rural districts. Ministers as a whole come from the relatively unprivileged group. The typical *trained* pastor decides to enter the ministry about the end of his high school course or early in college, and spends from

*"The Education of American Ministers." New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1934. 4 volumes.
Vol. I. By William Adams Brown, Pp. 232.
Vol. II. By Mark A. May and others, Pp. 399.
Vol. III. By Mark A. May and others, Pp. 522.
Vol. IV. By Mark A. May and Frank K. Shuttleworth, Pp. 281.

six to ten years in scholastic preparation for his work. On the other hand, the untrained minister usually does not decide to enter the ministry until about the age of twenty-five, after he has tried out two or more secular vocations. Denominations vary widely in their preparation of trained pastors. Three denominations have 80 per cent or more of the ministers who are graduates of both a college and a seminary. On the other hand, in four denominations less than 10 per cent are college and seminary graduates. While many of the denominations have educational standards for ordination, these standards can often be evaded in one way or another.

The average salary of all ministers in 1928 was about equal to the wages of semi-skilled workers. In order to adequately support a well trained minister a church must have, according to this study, about 350 members. Only 10 to 13 per cent of the Protestant white churches meet this standard. There is a high correlation between the capacity to support a trained minister and the percentage of trained ministers in each of the denominations. The study does not emphasize the fact that under the capitalistic system, since the wages of the workers are low, it is difficult for underprivileged groups to support a trained minister on a salary which he would consider adequate. In 1930 there was apparently an over-supply of ordained clergymen of between 40,000 and 50,000. It is exceedingly significant that the study shows that in view of denominational authorities, local church officials, and the pastors themselves, educational and civic activities of the minister rank last in importance.

The ministers as a whole recognize quite clearly that the seminary should place more emphasis on the development of practical skills by introducing more practical courses and by increasing the amount of clinical experience of the students. The analysis indicates that the traditional work of the ministry is not as appealing to intelligent young men who are choosing a life work today as it once was.

The study clearly shows also that the minister himself is to some extent a pawn in the hands of the economic and social forces of the community. The growth and decline of church membership are more the result of population trends and sociological factors than of what the minister does. Possibly this verdict might not hold good if the minister spent a good share of his time dealing with the political, economic, and social forces of the community. If, however, he is largely a tool in the hands of his members to carry on conventional religious tasks, his success will be largely dependent on the sociological forces at work in his community.

On the whole this study does not attempt fearlessly to interpret its findings and to suggest the changes in theological education which are probably necessary if the church is to keep abreast of the changing social environment. It does not attempt to show the effects of a money culture and a capitalistic civilization. It seems relatively clear that denominationalism as practised today must go if the church is to be an effective force. One church and one church only should minister to the needs of smaller communities. This means the federation of weak, competing denominational churches in small towns and villages into a single community institution, no matter what its name. The church must become an agency for meeting community needs. One of its chief functions must be to undertake to assume social and civic leadership. The church must no longer remain the handmaiden of capitalistic interests. It must oppose economic injustice wherever it exists. It must become the champion of the underprivileged. It is no longer possible for the pastor to become an outstanding leader in the community merely by doing the conventional types of work and avoiding social and economic issues. The church can once more assume the leadership which it had in the early days of this republic if it becomes an instrument for social righteousness.

This analysis does not pretend to be a summary of this four-volume study. Those who are interested should consult the volumes for themselves. By way of conclusion the writer would call attention to certain striking facts about which he has made a few comments.

1. The standard by which the ordinary congregation appraises the minister is usually identified with the maintenance of the *status quo*. Among church committees who are seeking a new pastor, the desire for a prophet of social righteousness is conspicuous by its absence.

2. The greatest difficulty preventing a highly educated ministry is the fact that congregations cannot support them.

3. Dr. Brown in his summary deplores the fact that the average Protestant seminary student receives a grant of $160 in scholarships or other gifts. In an economic order so grossly defective as our present capitalistic society, is this on the whole enough?

4. Beauty of a church or chapel has no correlation with attendance of students at religious service.

5. The study claims the minister should be: a teacher, an evangelist, a leader in worship, a pastor and an administrator. Should he not also be a crusader for social and economic justice and a community leader?

6. From the interviews with the ministers, it seemed evident that with at least 75 per cent of them the present condition of community life is accepted as inevitable. Apparently the ministers give minimum attention to the causes of poverty or social maladjustment. Their interests are "feeding the poor" and "visiting the fatherless and widows in their affliction."

7. "Less than one-fourth of the ministers make *any* of the following activities a regular part of their work: Community chest drive or general charity work; work on hospital committees or service to hospitals; help with visiting nurses' associations; parent teacher associations or committee work for same; help in cooperative marketing or other forms of activities affecting rural-urban conflicts; community conflicts or labor troubles; community surveys or research; public library committee work; work with settlements or social service agencies; and helping in political campaigns or political reforms."

8. Out of 225 white Protestant ministers in Chicago only two men placed civic and community activity as higher than fourth place in their evaluation of an action program.

9. As far as the rural ministers are concerned, their laymen consider them as dispensers of a religion which is separate from "worldly affairs" or as promoters of the *status quo*.

10. Of the personnel of the Boards of fifty seminaries, 7 per cent are bankers, 6 per cent are educators, 13 per cent belong to other professions, and 19.5 per cent are business men. If we do not count the educators, this means 40 per cent of the Boards of these seminaries are in the hands of the business interests or their professional associates.

Yale University. JEROME DAVIS.

America at War

Mr. Sullivan's fourth volume imaged America on the eve of Armageddon—his fifth* albumlike as ever in its wealth of illustrata, portrays America at war; a titanic spectacle, beside which all masterworks of fantasy pale into the drabness of the commonplace. Scarcely troubled at outset by those far trumpets of Sarajevo announcing Apocalypse, slumberous America (in frontispiece), rubbing her eyes, slowly awakens to the awful actualities, and comes to grapple with them. The remainder of the album provides a picturized interpretation of that tidal wave which, beginning with the Belgian imbroglio and ending with the Witches' Sabbath of Armistice Day, swept the distinguished sluggard across distant seas, through an inferno of world catastrophe, into those somber shades of reconstruction.

There pass in pageant as one turns the pages Sarajevo; the long grey tide flooding Liege; the universal rush to arms; Wilson's nervous pirouetting on the verge of the abyss; America's deluge of warring propaganda; Britain's blackguardism at sea, with the cynical connivance of Walter Hines Page; a red review of submarine slaughter, climaxing with the *Lusitania;* an interlude of ominous wavering, with Ford's peace venture as the only relief; the near-renaissance of Roosevelt in a splurge of "preparedness"; the utter unleashing of the submarine terror; Wilson's awful plunge into the Rubicon; the autocracy of conscription; the massing of America's industrial armament (reminiscent of NRA); the orgies of suppression captained by Palmer; the greater orgies of mass hysteria conducted by Creel; the saturnalia of "loans" and "drives"; the earth-shaking advance of America's mailed hosts; the sudden stopping of that onrush on November 11, 1918; and then, after Versailles, the downfall of the crafty world dictator—Deus Ex Machina above this mighty tragedy—tottering, old, ill, and disillusioned, into the cosmic abyss of reaction and imperialism dug by himself.

Such is the warp and woof of Mr. Sullivan's latest volume—by far the best of the series in its breath and detachment, its subtle humor, its telling pictures, its purity of prose. Whatever defects may have dimmed its predecessor, it has entirely obliterated them. Full length character portraits are not wanting: Roosevelt, Wood, Page, Baruch, Bryan, Hoover (slightly magnified), Creel (an appalling amalgam of Falstaff and Attila), House, Baker, Viereck; but, greatest of all, Woodrow Wilson—a triumph of portrayal rivaling the Tiberius of Tacitus. Not the least attractive feature of the work is the inevitable marginal pattern, rich in its subtle "nostalgia of the distant," wherein bygone songs, bygone jokes, bygone books, fashions and cartoons, unite to give the history a poignancy supreme in the literature of the age. In fine, the book is a worthy addition to the ever-increasing monument of *Our Times*—a treasure house of fact, fable and fancy, to which readers, wearied with the noisy confusion of the present, may return to browse tranquilly amongst the cool dim shadows of another era.

ROBERT C. SCHILLER.

*"Our Times V. Over Here"; 1914-1918. By Mark Sullivan. Scribners, 1933. $3.75.

"Old Fashioned Tales"

Zona Gale in this new collection of short stories* shows a profound preoccupation with life. Her preceding collections were the work of an interested observer; she focused her microscope upon a bit of life and described what she saw, sometimes staining the slide with her fertile imagination. But this book is the result of living. In it there are none of the delicately embroidered observations of a sentimentalist which we found in "Friendship Village"; nor yet any of the well-etched pictures from "Yellow Gentians and Blue." These tales show life . . . real, vivid, complex, and not very pretty.

The title is apt to be misleading: "Old Fashioned Tales" is reminiscent of things gone, but these stories are as modern as Inflation and the NRA. Or perhaps this is not strictly true. The settings and treatments are modern, but the situations are neither new nor old. They are timeless and for the most part drawn from the conflict between the sexes.

Take the case of Oliver and Clare as she tells it in "A Way of Escape." Here the problem is the inability of two people newly married to make their decisions, however small or great, without sacrificing the individuality of one. Clare's sister, Linda, has returned five years after she ran away from home and brought with her a wrecked body and a doubtful reputation. She must be taken in by someone. For Oliver to have her in his home means ruination socially and to his business advancement, but Clare is bound by kinship and understanding to take her in. The problem: shall she save the love of her husband and refuse, or shall she cherish her filial tie and lose him? Fortunately, she is saved the ultimate choice, but that does not solve the underlying problem.

Then there is Marda in "Upper Chambers" who wanted Boro but more completely than marriage could make him hers; a merging of their two identities into one. But she must, finally, be content to have him as a husband.

Or take Paul and Laura in "Whippoorwill," married for years with children grown, Laura still seeking to shatter the shell of smug complacency about her husband and become one with him. The crisis of an impending financial disaster does this in part, but still there is the question. . . .

So they go—these are not tales to read with enjoyment and to forget. Each is a bit of life to know and to ponder. But, fortunately, Miss Gale has not written a book of fables with their obvious moral; nor does she preach.

LYLE H. CORS.

*"Old Fashioned Tales": Zona Gale; Appleton-Century; $2.

Correspondence

Science and Immortality

Editor of UNITY:

"Science and Religion," by James H. Cousins is, I presume, open to criticism? If Dr. Barrett declares, as quoted, that "a Supreme Being can, and indeed *must* interfere in the sequence of events if man's dependence and man's worship be taken as having any objective significance," then we must conclude that Dr. Barrett is still living in a realm of imagination and fallacy. I am inclined to believe in Einstein when he rejects the idea of a Being who interferes in the sequence of events.

I also take exception to this sentence: "Even Einstein has written that he does not believe in the survival of death—as if a scientist had any business merely to believe or not to believe, instead of scientifically studying the available recorded evidence and participat-

ing in direct research for which opportunity is now liberally open."

Why, I ask, has not a scientist a right to believe or disbelieve? If anything is worked out scientifically, then a scientist has a right to believe that. But an unscientific statement cannot be believed by a scientist; therefore, he has a right to disbelieve it. What is science if not a rational process of thought? Science is truth, so far as the mind of man is able to grasp. And theology is nescience, no matter how strongly believed. Belief is not knowledge.

If science is reasoning along rational lines, and theology is reasoning along the line of faith, then it must be more scientific to say there is no consciousness after death than to say the soul of man is immortal. Even the Bible does not teach the immortality of the soul; that is the "soul" as taught by orthodoxy. But if the "soul" is life, as taught in Genesis, then it does teach eternal life. But are not immortality and eternal life two different things?

Such passages of Scripture as: "The soul that sinneth it shall die," "The wages of sin is death," and "The gift of God is eternal life," are diametrically opposed to the immortality of the soul theory. There is no such thing as an immortal soul. "He only hath immortality," applies to God; and God is not a soul, but a Spirit.

The following statement by James H. Cousins, is more theological than scientific: "Between the individual in the flesh and the realm of consciousness in which he will function after he discards his physical body, etc.," is here stated as positive and not as problematic, which proves it as a real conception of the old theology which says there is an immortal soul housed in the body, which cannot leave it until the body dies. A divine and spiritual person awaiting to escape from the confines of the physical body, as it were.

Paul speaks of this mortal *putting on* immortality, as if that were possible; but nowhere does he speak of the immortality of the soul.

John saw in his vision on the isle of Patmos, "the souls of just men made perfect," not the immortality of the soul. What John saw was possibly the *lives* of just men made perfect. "Soul" and "life" are synonymous.

In conclusion I would like to ask Mr. Cousins in what way physical research has demonstrated the survival of individual consciousness beyond death? The Spiritualists have never yet proved to science that their claims are valid.

Stratford, Ontario. JOHN ROWLAND.

Toward Economic Security

Editor of UNITY:

Discussion of many issues has distracted public attention from one proposal under the New Deal that gives unusual promise of good results. This is the bill now before Congress to encourage unemployment insurance. It is known as the Wagner-Lewis bill, but is in part the handiwork of the Secretary of Labor, Frances Perkins.

In attempts made hitherto to secure state legislation in this field the chief obstacle has been the fear that a tax levied for unemployment reserves would keep capital out of the state, and thus give an advantage to competing states where no such tax was levied. The present bill aims to eliminate any such advantage. It provides that a special Federal tax for unemployment relief funds shall be levied on all employers, based on their annual payrolls. But in those states which enact unemployment insurance laws that meet the minimum Federal requirements, an employer is permitted to deduct from the Federal tax the amount of his contribution to the insurance funds established by the laws of his own state.

The effect of this provision will be to exert pressure upon every state to establish a system of unemployment insurance in order to keep its money at home. And public sentiment in favor of unemployment insurance has increased so rapidly in recent years that the situation is very hopeful.

The ultimate aim of course is to stabilize industry. Wisconsin, which has taken the lead in establishing unemployment reserves, has put into its law one excellent provision which lightens the tax on an employer in proportion to the degree of steadiness in employment he has maintained. The Federal (Wagner-Lewis) bill has a similar provision.

The surplus profits which corporations devote to purposes not always laudable can thus be turned to proper uses. Why should not each industry be required to carry its own overhead? If a certain number of employees are necessary to maintain normal production in any line, that industry should bear the cost of their maintenance in slack times so far as possible. We must get away from the system which permits employers to exploit their men by merciless driving so long as profits are in sight, and then throw them on the community for support. Economic security is civilization's greatest need, and unemployment insurance is the most hopeful means in sight for making swift progress toward the goal.

F. S. KINDER.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 62)

and a program whose goal is their complete extermination:

Because they treat differences of opinion as heresies subject to inquisition and to be punished by imprisonment and torture.

Because, according to the declaration of their leader, they base their rule upon a combination of force and fraud, a technique of the deception of the masses of their people, both by suppressing the true and by spreading the false;

Because they are employing the technique of lies and propaganda to gain their ends in foreign lands with which they are publicly at peace;

Because by doctrine, by law, and by administrative procedure they are degrading womanhood in Germany from the position of human beings who share equally with men in the duties and responsibilities of civilized life;

Because they have robbed the workingmen of Germany of their right of free association and of the protection by the law of their trade union standards and conditions, and because they have subordinated the workers to "leaders" to whom they stand related as medieval serfs to their masters;

Because they have cut off the arts of Germany from the fertilizing contacts with the rest of the world and have inhibited those

discoveries, inventions and variations in which the progress of art consists;

Because they have inhibited the sciences from the pursuit of truth and have subordinated them to the purposes of their State;

Because, by their financial methods, they have cheated and are continuing to cheat both the public and the private creditors of Germany of their due;

Because, although they speak of peace, they have 1,300,000 marching men in uniform and have made instruction in the art of war a part of the curriculum in every institution of higher education;

Because they have defied, insulted and endeavored to disrupt the instrumentalities of international cooperation and international peace and have by this and other means thrown Europe into a state of war tension such as prevailed in 1914.

Therefore: We, citizens of the United States of America, assembled together in Madison Square Garden in the City of New York on Wednesday, March 7, 1934, upon the first anniversary of the Hitlerite coup d'état, solemnly declare that the National Socialist Government of Germany has turned its face against historic progress and the positive blessings and achievements of modern civilization. It has shown itself by doctrine and practice to be the avowed enemy of those methods of peace and freedom by which the march of civilization has been enabled and the progress of mankind accomplished.

We declare that the Hitler government is compelling the German people to turn back from civilization to an antiquated and barbarous despotism which menaces the progress of mankind toward peace and freedom and is a present threat against civilized life throughout the world.

To the great masses of the German people, who are thus being made the victims of a regression so tragic and terrible, we express our deep sympathy and friendship. We recognize the wrongs which they have suffered on account of the inequities of the Treaty of Versailles. We deplore the enhancement of those wrongs because of the mistaken post-war policies of the victors in the Great War. We admire the resolution, the good sense and the endurance with which the German people at the end of the war undertook further to advance civilization by means of the free government and free institutions of the German Republic, which Hitlerism has with ruthless malice destroyed. We deeply deplore the fact that the efforts of the republic received from the other nations less cooperation than they deserved. But we deem it our solemn duty to point out that as time passed this cooperation improved in scope, in degree and in kind and that when the Hitler coup d'état destroyed freedom and justice in Germany and began to undermine German civilization, the German nation was well advanced toward equality and freedom in the family of nations.

Today the German people and the German Government stand before the world as they did in 1918, and with far greater justice. In 1918 Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States, called attention to the distinction between the German people and the German Government — how the government had coerced the people into conduct contrary to their traditions and standards and opposed to their essential desires. President Wilson called upon the people of Germany to liberate themselves from this coercion and thus to recover for themselves and for their children the peace and freedom in which civilization and progress consist.

Today it has once again become the solemn duty of the enlightened opinion of mankind to call attention to the differences between the German people and the German Government. Once again the people are being terrorized by a privileged minority more ruthless, more arbitrary, more ignorant and more hypocritical than any in German history, into policies and conduct at home and abroad contrary to every conception of equity and harmony in human life.

We declare our solemn conviction that such a situation cannot long endure. It is our faith and prayer that the time is not far off, when all the people of Germany, regardless of race, sex, or creed, may restore for themselves and for their children each and every one of those rights and duties, those opportunities for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness in which just government at home consists; and that the German nation thus freed may at last take its place as an equal and free member of the family of nations in the cooperative enterprise of civilization.

Until that day arrives the German Government stands convicted by its own acts of a crime against civilization.

Children of the Slums

You who despise the alley's brood,
And think them all unfit and crude,
Reflect that here is untried gold
That only needs the proper mold.

CHARLES G. GIRELIUS.

HUMANIST WORLD

A bi-weekly paper devoted to the cause of practical Humanism.

HUMANIST WORLD is published by the Humanist Society of Hollywood, Calif., established five years ago by Theodore Curtis Abell.

Contributing Editors are: Upton Sinclair, Malcolm H. Bissell, M. A., Ph. D., Rev. John H. Dietrich, Morton Mott-Smith, Ph. D., and Judge Ben Lindsey.

HUMANIST WORLD contains timely feature articles on the political, economic, and social trends, editorials, review of world news, notes on music, art, books, and science.

HUMANIST WORLD SELLS for 5 cents a copy. $2 for 52 issues, $1 for 26 issues. Send ten cents and we will mail you the next two issues, which will contain interesting articles on BIRTH CONTROL and COMMUNISM.

There are too few open minded liberal papers in the United States. HUMANIST WORLD should be given your support. It will interest you regardless of your race, creed or belief.

HUMANIST PUBLISHING SOCIETY
(Circulation Office)
10725 Camarillo Street, North Hollywood, California